1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

lasted several days and roused interest even in remote parts of Bali. A moderate tone dominated the celebration, at least to all appearances. Invitations to attend the commemoration were sent to the regional and central Balinese authorities. Among the motives preventing the ruler of Badung (of the Paměchutan family) from being present at the ceremony, the old controversy between the dynasties of Badung and Měngwi will in all probability have played a rôle.

Everywhere on Bali history has deep roots, though it rarely leaves clear traces. Factual historiography is alien to the Balinese, and there is a tendency to mythologize important historical personages and events. Perhaps it is precisely for this reason that the after-effects of certain events are to be felt for so long. In the Měngwi area the system of state temples helps to keep the memory of the days of political and dynastic glory alive. A more or less latent but quite general feeling of political discontent is still to be found in the area. Before the war this feeling found expression in certain nuances in governability, and it is not out of the question that such matters will also make themselves felt in the growing national and political consciousness of the present day.

It has already been pointed out that in popular parlance the relation between the state temples and the dynasty of Měngwi is given expression in the statement that the sanctuaries 'belong' to the erstwhile royal family. Nonetheless the Abiansĕmal district head is recognized as the person directly in charge of maintenance of the temple, and it is considered natural that the reigning family of Badung should participate in ceremonies at the dynastic sanctuaries of the former house of Měngwi. There is a clear realization that in this relationship between temple and dynasty a tie is involved of a higher order than can be expressed in such terms as 'property' or 'ownership'.

A temple becomes a state sanctuary because the ruler participates in its cult. As a result of that participation the sanctuary is given a sort of legitimation in the eyes of everyone under the authority of the ruler – also of those who belong to upper castes, for the ruler, in the exercise of his functions, is considered as the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

tor, so the *balé agung* is the home of the spirits when they visit their descendants, the symbolical throne of their authority. Like everything in Bali, the *balé agung* is divided into "right" and "left," with the chiefs and council members classified in the same manner. They sit on the long shed either at the right or at the left, on a spot set by their rank. New members act as attendants without a seat, but at the meetings squat on the ground outside the shed, until a seat at the end of the club-house is left to them by the death of a member. They advance progressively with age, the entire line moving up each time there is a vacant seat, until they reach the higher places towards the head of the *balé agung*. The headmen keep a record of each member's position in the building, in which the names of the members are written on the palm-leaf.

Every normal married man who owns a house or a plot of land in the village territory is compelled to join the village association, and his refusal would be punished by the denial of every assistance, confiscation of his property, and possibly even exile from the village. Theoretically all the land in Bali belongs ultimately to the gods, who lease it to the Balinese to work it and live from it; consequently landownership in an absolute sense cannot exist in the Balinese mind. Thus the *desa* authority, as representative of these gods, controls the land of the village, the homes, private and communally cultivated ricefields, grazing-lands, and the grounds left wild (*petjatu*) that provide bamboo, rotan, pandanus, wood, and so forth. From the lands adjoining the *desa* a worthy member may obtain an agricultural plot or the ground for his home. If someone has to move to another village and is justified in leaving, he asks to be released from the association and has the right to take with him the value of his share of the village property, but his land and his house return to the *desa*. His property is confiscated without compensation, Korn says, if he leaves the society without explanation.

The headmen of the association, the *kliang desa*, rules the village in the name of the council. He is usually elected by common

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

175 53 [172] ricefields, in the strip of land between the rivers Pakrisan and Petanú, where so many of the antiquities of Bali are found. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there was a renaissance in East Java, in Kediri, brought about by the Balinese-born king Erlangga. Under him Bali became again an in-

[531]

Tjilís from *Lamaks*

tegral part of Java and classicism received a new impetus. It was Erlangga who instituted Javanese as the official language of Bali. Tantric black magic seems to have played an important part in Erlangga's time, and while he was having trouble with his greatest political enemy, his own mother, who had sworn to destroy his kingdom by the black arts, Erlangga's brother ruled Bali in his name. This brother was buried (according to Stutterheim) in the spectacular "Kings' tombs" in *Gunung Kawi* near Tampaksiring.

172 211 Among the important relics of the ancient period are the following:

[Text continues on page 176]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

172 Gunung Kawi: On the banks of the river Pakrisan, descending a
● 211 steep ravine, is a group of sober, undecorated monuments shaped like the ancient burial towers (*tjandí*), hewn out of the solid rock, each inside of a niche, four on one side and five on the other. To the right of the main group is a sort of monastery with coves also carved out of the rock, arranged around a central cell with a platform in the centre. The monuments are supposed to belong to the eleventh
[764] century, when cremation had not yet been introduced into Bali, and Lekkerkerker thinks the cells were probably destined to expose the corpses to be obliterated by decay and wild animals, such as was the custom among Indonesians, and as is still practised in Sembiran in Bali and by the Toradjas in Celebes, where it is now forbidden by the Dutch. The monuments were only discovered in 1920, but the Balinese knew them, and saw them with reverence because they attributed them to the giant of mythical times, Kbo Iwá, who is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments with his own fingernails. The natives formerly called the tombs *Djalú*, but the present place-name, *Gunung Kawi*, means "mountain of poetry" or "mountain of antiquity."

172 Bukit *Darma*: In Kutrí near Bedulu there is another antiquity of
532 the classic period, also related to Erlangga. It is the beautiful statue of Mahendradatta, Erlangga's mother, as the goddess of death, Durga. It is preserved in the sanctuary of *Bukit Darma*, which archæologists believe to be the burial site of Erlangga's mother. The statue is badly worn, but it can still be seen that it was of the purest classic lines.

Goa *Gadja*: Together with *Gunung Kawi*, the best known relic of the ancient art is the famous "Elephant Cave" near Bedulu. *Goa Gadja* is a great hollowed rock, perhaps the former residence of a hermit, elaborately carved on the outside, covered with representations of stylized rocks, forests, waves, animals, and people running in panic because directly over the entrance is the head of a great monster with bulging eyes who splits the rock with his enormous fat hands. Nieuwenkamp says that it may represent Pasupati, who divided the mountain Mahameru into two parts and, taking them in his hands, placed each half in Bali as the Gunung Agung and the